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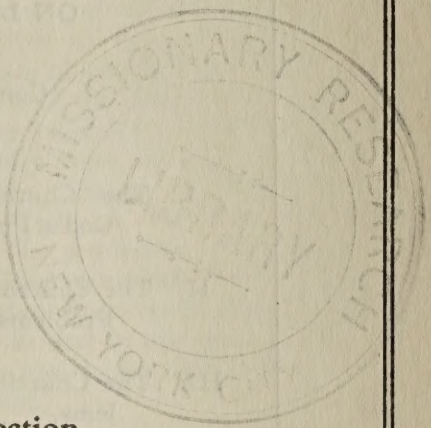
THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



American Section

Report of Commission IV

to

THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE
ON LIFE AND WORK

HELD IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

August 19-30, 1925

UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE
ON LIFE AND WORK

Commission Reports

I. The Church's Obligation in View of God's Purpose for the World.

II. The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.

III. The Church and Social and Moral Problems.

IV. The Church and International Relations.

V. The Church and Education.

VI. Methods of Co-operative and Federative Efforts By the Christian Communions.

GENERAL PREFACE

A few words should be written about the inception of The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work. In the summer of 1919 the International Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches met at The Hague. This was the first meeting of an international character held after the signing of the Armistice, if one excepts a small gathering of labor leaders. About sixty leaders of the Churches were present, representing nearly all the Protestant Communions and most of the countries of Europe. Ten or twelve delegates were present from America.

The meetings at The Hague developed so sweet and reasonable an atmosphere, at a time when great bitterness prevailed everywhere, and the delegates present expressed themselves so strongly as to the un-Christian character of war and the necessity of establishing a world order on a new and Christian basis, that several of the delegates felt strongly that the time had come for the Churches officially to get together and say what these Churchmen semi-officially were saying. As a result Archbishop Soederblom of Sweden, Dr. Charles S. Macfarland of America, the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson and others held an informal meeting to discuss the possibility of bringing the Churches of the world together for a Conference, where the Churches could utter their united conviction on international matters and all other matters with which society would have to deal in the reconstruction of civilization and the building of a new and better civilization on the ruins of the old, which lay all about them.

This preliminary meeting was not altogether spontaneous for on two separate occasions during the progress of the war, Archbishop Soederblom had communicated with the Churches of Europe and America regarding the possibility of such a conference and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America had suggested that a Conference of the Federated bodies of Churches in all the countries might meet together after the war. The unanimous opinion of the unofficial group at The Hague was that a committee should be appointed to bring the leaders of the Churches together with the aim of convincing them of the necessity of such a world gathering of the Churches ,and asking them to take the matter up with their respective denominations. This committee went from The Hague to Paris and brought together as many of the leaders of the Churches as possible upon such short notice. This meeting became greatly interested in the project and requested Dr. Frederick Lynch, Chairman of the Committee on Ecumenical Conference of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America to arrange for a preliminary meeting of the Churches the following summer.

Dr. Lynch proceeded from Paris to London and had several interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. F. B. Myers, Dr. Thomas Nightingale, Dr. J. H. Shakespeare and others. Meantime, Archbishop Soderbloom undertook to interest the Scandinavian Churches and Dr. Choisy

the Swiss Churches. Sufficient interest was aroused to warrant the calling of a preliminary Conference at Geneva in the summer of 1920.

As a result of the procedures recorded above, one hundred delegates assembled at Geneva in August of 1920. A three days session was held and the Conference gradually began to assume shape. Great interest was manifested and all present expressed themselves to the effect that the Church Universal had a great opportunity to exert a determining influence upon the new order that must follow the war. Furthermore the world was waiting for some great pronouncement from the Churches upon such questions as war and peace, the industrial order; such immediate problems as those having to do with intemperance and vice and upon all ethical and moral questions. It was felt that a positive and commanding utterance of the Churches in these trying years would do much to encourage a disheartened world and would make it much easier for those who were trying to reconstruct the world on a Christian basis to carry on this high task. There was much confusion in the world as to just where the Church did stand on these great problems disturbing the minds of men. The conviction was expressed that only as the rule of life laid down by the gospels became the law of nations could any hope for security and peace be found or the great sores of the world be healed.

Furthermore it was felt by all that whatever new international machinery might be set up or whatever new industrial order might arise, it was only as these were permeated by the spirit of Jesus Christ that they would fulfill the high hopes of their founders. It was also strongly felt that two great blessings might ensue from such a Conference. On the one hand all individual communions would profit by this period of common intercourse, especially those communions that had greatly suffered from the war. They would be made strong in the consciousness of the oneness of all Christ's disciples. On the other hand the coming together, if only for a month, of all the Churches of the world, to cooperate in the common task of redeeming the world order, and to make some great common pronouncement on the place of Christ in our civilization would be a great object lesson to the world.

At Geneva a large International Committee was set up which was divided into four groups, one for America, one for the British Empire, one for the European Protestant churches and the fourth representing the Orthodox Eastern Church. The International Committee appointed a smaller Executive Committee, which held three meetings in successive years, one at Peterborough, England, one at Zurich, Switzerland and one at Amsterdam, Holland. In August, 1922, the International Committee itself met at Helsingborg, Sweden, and was very fully attended by delegates from all the communions and nations. At this meeting the programme for the Conference assumed final shape. It was voted that the program for Stockholm should include the following groups of subjects:

1. The Church's Obligation in view of God's purpose for the world.
2. The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.
3. The Church and Social and Moral Problems.
4. The Church and International Relations.
5. The Church and Christian Education.
6. Methods of Co-operative and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

The reports which followed are in fulfillment of this vote taken at Helsingborg. In April, 1924, the full Committee met again at Birmingham, England, in connection with C. O. P. E. C. and reviewed the progress made upon the reports and dealt specifically with plans for the Stockholm meeting.

This is in brief the history of The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, and is the explanation of the reports which follow. These reports have been prepared with great care by the leaders of the Churches and by experts in the several questions discussed. They are submitted to the Conference in the hope that the Conference will receive them in the same spirit in which they have been written, i.e. in the endeavor to find the common consciousness of the Churches upon these subjects and to voice its united feeling.

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This means:

(a) An Engineering Task. To distribute accurate informations and organize international machinery.
(b) An Educational Task. To teach A.B.C. of international co-operation.
(c) A Co-operative Task. To devise ways of co-operation in trade, distribution of raw materials and maintenance of justice.
(d) A Religious Task. Conceptions of duty and religion must be enlarged to include international and inter-racial rights and duties.

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1. The ideal of the Kingdom of God is universal. It includes every relation of human life.
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THE CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FOREWORD

A Christian world-order must somehow be substituted for the pagan war-system of the nations. In the settlement of international disputes, some way must be found by which to have law and reason take the place of war.

This is the most stupendous and the most urgent task facing the modern world. The race is on between international education and the mutual destruction of the nations.

Man's mastery of Nature's titantic forces has far out-run his moral development. Moral fitness of millions of men to use these mighty forces, as individuals and as nations, must be promptly developed; otherwise our modern achievements in civilization will bring down upon us overwhelming disasters and age-long chaos.

The task is one that rests uniquely on the churches, for it is a moral task. How are the churches of the United States facing this task? Are they grappling with it vigorously and hopefully? What more should they be doing? And how?

These are the matters to be considered in this paper.

PART I

A Strange Paradox

The first peace society in the United States was organized in 1815. That was the beginning of a long succession of peace organizations, movements and leaders, an adequate account of which would require volumes. But, strange to say, the organized churches, as such, except for the Quakers (who, from their very first arrival in America have made remarkable and invaluable contributions to the cause of world peace) have had little interest and practically no part in the movement. Yet the vital breath of this movement came from the churches. Throughout the century, as indeed throughout the centuries since Christ, the Hebrew prophets and the New Testament have been the unfailing sources of inspiration and ideals. The leaders have been reared in the churches and trained in the Bible. But they have sought their ends through voluntary, non-church organizations. Until recent years, church members have not been taught that as Christians they have responsibility in the movement to abolish war.

This paradox needs explanation, for the antithesis of the Kingdom of God and the war-system of the nations is obvious. The position in which the churches of the whole world now find themselves is both anomalous and ominous. They are facing the most appalling problem and menace of present day civilization, yet they are apparently unconcerned. In their official conferences and assemblies ecclesiastical affairs claim their chief interest. Colossal preparation for " inevitable"

war threatens the world with bankruptcy and chaos; yet the churches seem ignorant of the issues and unconscious of their danger. Though possessing incalculable power, they are undisturbed by the challenge of Mars, and ignore their wonderful opportunity. How is this to be explained?

Two Conceptions of Religion

Throughout the Eighteenth Century and well on toward the close of the Nineteenth the vast majority of pastors and church members regarded religion as dealing with the welfare of men in the next world. The primary purpose of religion and of the Church was conceived to be that of providing salvation from eternal suffering in hell and assurance of permanent bliss in Heaven.

Religion was conceived eschatologically and individualistically. "What must I do to be saved?" was the dominant question. And the customary answer was: "Be baptized, join the church, believe the creeds, obey the ten commandments." The primary concern of religion was correct beliefs about and correct emotional attitudes toward God and Christ and the future life, correct relations with the church, correct rituals and ceremonials and a correct personal life in order to escape hell and secure entrance to heaven.

Literal acceptance of the Bible and especially of the apocalyptic passages of the New Testament was also stressed. The world, it was held, is to grow worse and worse until overwhelmed in destruction. Christ will then come in full power to create a new Heaven and a new earth. In this transformation and redemption of the world, the individual has no part or responsibility. It is all the work of God and His Christ, Christians have but to wait in patience and fidelity till He comes. They are in the "world" but not a part of it.

The Second Conception of Religion

Beginning, however, with the middle of the Nineteenth Century, a change began to take place in the conception of religion and the church, and in the interpretation of Christianity. Emphasis began to be placed on religion as having to do also with this world. The social value of religion began to be recognized. Study of the life and teachings of Jesus led many to feel that the real spirit and the real emphasis of His teachings are social and ethical, rather than metaphysical; that the meaning of the Sermon on the Mount, the significance of the parables and the whole drift of His life show that His conception of religion was deeply concerned with this world; that in His thought, God's judgment of men is concerned with their spirit of goodwill and brotherly helpfulness to each other; and that the real aim of Jesus was to establish a brotherhood which should transform society and beget a Kingdom of God on Earth as in Heaven.

Since the beginning of the present century these ideas have found

rapidly growing acceptance. The Christian religion, it is now increasingly held, seeks to know and practice God's will for this life. That will was revealed in Christ, and the reality of our salvation, both here and hereafter, consists in incarnating in our lives the spirit and ideals of Jesus. The church is becoming interested in effective processes for regenerating the spirit and reforming the minds of men, infusing them with the spirit and the mind of Jesus. It seeks to save men and women from debased personal character and debasing social, industrial and economic conditions. It is concerned also with the whole life of man—social, international and inter-racial. In a word, the Christian religion is increasingly conceived as the way of life and the kind of spirit taught and lived by Jesus.

Both these conceptions of religion and salvation are now prevalent among the Protestant churches of the United States. Many clearly distinguish between them, accepting one and rejecting the other. But the vast majority of Protestant Christians apparently hold both views in more or less mixture and confusion.

Their Bearing on the Problems of War and Peace

The bearing of the differing conceptions of religion on the attitude of Christians, and especially of the organized churches, toward the problems of war and peace is clear. In proportion as the individualistic, eschatological view is strongly held, church members take little interest in these matters and feel slight responsibility for abolishing war. In proportion as men believe that God's Kingdom is to come in this world by the service of those who practice the Christian way of life, interest and activity in the program develop.

The popular acceptance of the second view of religion was remarkably manifested at the beginning of the world war. Fierce condemnations were hurled at the Church because it had not prevented the great war. That war, it was assumed, could not have occurred had the Church done its duty. And this assumed in turn that the Church should teach and act on matters pertaining to this world; and that Christian salvation is not exclusively for individuals but also for society and for entire nations.

Awakening Consciousness in the Churches

The American churches love peace and hate war, but by reason of the fact that America is so far removed from Europe and its conflicts, there has developed only recently the strong consciousness on the part of the churches and religious leaders that war and the war system must be destroyed or Christianity will fail. The Quakers have throughout all their history put major emphasis upon this idea. It is interesting to note, however, that when the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized, the second conception of religion was sufficiently accepted to lead the Council, at its prelimi-

nary meeting in 1905, to the affirmation that among the objects of the Council was the abolition of war. A clarion call to the churches and a strong declaration on international relations was issued. Early in its history (1911) the Federal Council established the Commission on Peace and Arbitration, which was later renamed the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill.

Throughout the entire period of its activity, the Federal Council has issued to the churches, year after year, ringing messages for the enlargement of vision, for definiteness of action, and for deeds of mercy and goodwill. It has outlined important programs for international organization and cooperation and advocated the fundamental principles of a world guided by organized goodwill. It has published study courses for use in the churches. It has discussed concrete questions. It has sought by moral pressure to influence the policies of the Government on a number of occasions, of which perhaps the most notable was the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament. Even a partial record of its activities and utterances during the fifteen years of its existence would fill many volumes.

During these years, moreover, practically all of the annual gatherings of the larger denominations have passed resolutions dealing with questions of war and peace. They have begun to show some consciousness of their responsibility in the program for abolishing war. A vigorous demand for still more effective effort is arising on many sides. The problem is increasingly recognized as essentially moral.

Other Agencies

Early in 1914 this awakening consciousness found expression in the establishment of The Church Peace Union, a "Foundation" with a capital fund of $2,000,000,—entrusted to a body of Trustees. This project had been proposed to Mr. Andrew Carnegie by leaders of the churches and peace movements in Great Britain and America. The income of the fund has been used for the promotion of educational activities among the churches of many countries, for assistance to local peace organizations of churches and for the cultivation of personal acquaintance and cooperation between individual Christian leaders of many lands.

The World Alliance for International Friendship through the churches, one of the principal products of The Church Peace Union, is continually bringing together groups of churchmen all over the United States to consider the establishment of an international order on the Christian principles. It has also held several great national conventions where it has dealt with the World Court and other allied topics. It publishes a monthly bulletin which is sent to its entire membership embracing several thousand pastors. During the past five years the Alliance has brought together leaders in the churches of all communions and practically all countries of Europe and North America for a yearly conference on what the churches may do to promote inter-

national goodwill. Such a conference was held at Copenhagen and was attended by some two hundred and fifty delegates, representing practically all Protestant communions as well as the Eastern Orthodox churches.

But more significant than organizational activities and contacts are those long sustained expressions of international goodwill that have been called forth among the churches of America by pitiful appeals for mercy and relief during and since the great war. These appeals have come from Belgium, the Near East, China, Russia, Austria, Japan, Germany. The value of the food, clothing, medicines and funds distributed by Americans in these countries during the past decade has been estimated at about a billion dollars.

For the promotion of better relations between the United States and the Far East, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has, for more than a decade, maintained, with the assistance of The Church Peace Union, a Commission on Relations with the Orient. It has rendered a significant service in seeking to promote mutual understanding, interpreting to Americans the problems of China, Korea and Japan and to those countries the problems and the situation in the United States. The task of reconciling the white and the yellow races is seen to be one of the urgently important and also one of the exceedingly difficult problems of the century.

Relations also with Mexico and Latin America are receiving serious attention from appropriate committees of the Federal Council. It is felt that in these concrete situations the churches should inform themselves of the facts, and particularly of the facts making for irritation and ill will, and should undertake procedures fitted to produce mutual understanding and good will.

In about fifty cities of the United States, Church Councils or Federations exist, many of which have established their own local Committees on International Goodwill.

The Churches and the League of Nations

"The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," has for many decades been an ideal cherished and widely proclaimed by church leaders in the United States. During the Great War it was commonly expected that peace would bring an actual organization of the nations, making real and effective international law, with Courts and Commissions for the judicial and arbitral settlement of every threatening international dispute.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in December 1918, a Memorial to "The Peace Conference of the Allied and Associated Nations at Paris" was unanimously adopted. It urged the immediate formation of a "League of Nations." Among the paragraphs of that trenchant Memorial are the assertions that "We must have a governed world in which the security and rights of each shall rest upon the combined

strength of all. Humanity must be organized on a basis of justice and fair dealing. The law of brotherhood must supersede the law of the jungle." . . . The League "must be democratic in spirit and in form. It must be capable of continuous adjustment to the advancing life of separate nations and also of the world. It must be directed by the enlightened conscience of mankind." . . . Such a League will be "an internationl manifestation of the Kingdom of God."

This Memorial was conveyed to the Paris Peace Council by a special Commission from the Federal Council and may have been one of the influences that led to the organization of the League of Nations established by the Treaty of Versailles.

During the spring and summer of 1919, and especially during the Presidential campaign of 1920, the question of ratifying that treaty became a bitter political issue, upon which the political parties became hopelessly divided. It has not, therefore, seemed advisable for the Federal Council of the Churches to issue any statements for or against the League of Nations and American membership therein. This, however, does not signify the abandonment by the churches of their ideal of world cooperation in the establishment of justice, righteousness, security and peace for all alike. It only means that many within the churches have felt that certain injustices and wrongs were embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, which the League was to enforce, and that these injustices and wrongs, with other limitations and defects, made it impossible for them to see in the League a step toward the realization of their Christian ideals of the Kingdom of God for the international life of the world.

The establishment by the Nations, through the initiative of the League, of the Permanent Court of International Justice, whose functions are purely judicial and in the interest of equal justice for all, has received the practically unanimous support of the churches of the United States. They have expressed themselves with no uncertain voice in their remarkable Memorial to the Senate, (April, 1924), appealing for American adherence to that Court.

The Geneva Protocol on Compulsory Arbitration, Security and Disarmament has come before the country so recently that the churches have not yet had time to study it and decide their attitude toward its multitudinous provisions. They will, no doubt, approve unanimously its general principles for the complete outlawry of war, condemning as criminal an aggressor nation, and for the pacific settlement of every threatening international dispute. The point of doubt lies in the provisions for economic and military sanctions.

In general it may be said that the growing emphasis of the League on equal justice and security for all, and on ways for their achievement, together with diminishing emphasis on the work of the League for the primary benefit of the great Powers, is commending it to a steadily growing constituency in the United States. When it becomes clear to the vast majority in the churches that the League exists solely for

the promotion of justice, righteousness and peace for all, and cannot be utilized for special privilege by any, their demand for American membership in the League will be strong and insistent.

PART II

Relations of Church and State

In the program on a warless world the question necessarily arises regarding the respective responsibilities of the Church and the State. What are their proper relations to each other?

In the United States the respective organisms and functions of the State and the Church are ordinarily thought to be completely separate. A free Church in a free State is the accepted ideal. According to this view, the sacred and the secular are sharply distinguished. The Church has jurisdiction in the sacred matters of religion, while secular matters belong to the State. Christians must obey the State in secular matters, on the principle of rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; but in matters of religion the Church is supreme. The State should not interfere with the Church in its affairs, and neither should the Church interfere with the State in its affairs. The respective realms of control and jurisdiction are sharply separated.

Every individual is of necessity a member of the State and has inescapable and coercible obligations. He must obey the laws and support the Government. Membership, however, in the Church is voluntary. An individual is free to join and also free to withdraw at any time.

Both the State and the Church are regarded as legitimate and necescary institutions, each rendering an essential service to the welfare of the individual, of the community and of the nation.

Within the limits of law and order, churches and individuals of all religions are free to believe what they choose and free to live the kind of life they prefer. In this sense religion is an individual affair. Neither the State nor the Church may seek by force to coerce individual religious beliefs.

But, as already indicated, a rising tide of conviction is spreading over the nation, and especially among the churches, that the religion of Jesus requires a life of universal goodwill and brotherliness; that those who profess to be Christian should seek to banish evils of all kinds from the world; and that this can be done only by securing the acceptance of new ideals and a new spirit by the governments of the nations.

In this sense, the churches of America are beginning to seek to influence the policies of the State. The adoption of "Prohibition" is one manifestation of this conviction.

It is also becoming clear that in the achievement of a warless world the State alone is impotent. The assumptions widely held that religious and moral considerations are quite outside the purview of the State; that the State is an institution of power; that it is absolutely sov-

ereign; that it is under no obligation to a higher authority; and that the true aim and purpose of a State is to grow more and more powerful, we begin to recognize, constitute a menace to the world and even to the State in which these conceptions are held. The falsity of these assumptions must be asserted and taught. Behind and underneath the activities of the State, we began to see, there is need for effective moral education and leadership, cultivating among the people the ideals and motives of true international life upon which permanent peace can alone be based.

On the other hand, since the actual relations of nations are determined by their governments, the abolition of war can be achieved only by the appropriate agreements, activities and cooperation of states. Moral principles must control the activities of states if good will, mutual consideration and helpfulness are to prevail. Here then the realms of religion and politics intertwine.

We are learning that in this, and in many other matters as well, the sharp distinction between the secular and the religious, the political and the ethical cannot be maintained. This insight is forcing rapidly to the front questions regarding appropriate ways by which the Church can secure from the State the adoption of policies and practices that are ethical. On the answer of these questions hangs the fate of the world. For the wages of sin is death for nations as well as for individuals. A world of non-moral states is doomed.

And this raises the question whether a citizen is subject to the State in matters of morals. Can citizens who believe that war and preparations for war are violations of God's universal moral law be loyal to the State? Can a Christian be a loyal citizen of a non-moral State? Can a Christian in obedience to a command from the State rightly commit acts which would be wrong for him as an individual—theft, deception, anger, revenge, murder? Which possesses superior authority? How can the Church make the State Christian? Is the attitude of the "conscientious objector" right regarding the use of force by the State in achieving even the legitimate ends of security, liberty, justice and honor in international relations?

These are questions which demand earnest study. They involve profound issues in the mutual relations of Church and State. Manifestly their discussion is beyond the scope of this brief paper.

PART III

Fundamental Factors

Before asking ourselves how the churches of the world can render the service demanded of them in the abolition of war, brief consideration must be given to the real causes of war. The answer is not so simple as many suppose. Many factors are involved—economic, political, psychological. The following elements can be distinguished:

1) Modern civilization has made all the nations of the world extraordinarily interdependent. They are interdependent for raw materials. No nation is completely supplied from within its own territories with all the varieties of mineral and vegetable products absolutely essential for its manifold industrial activities. Each must secure something from without. They are also interdependent for markets. Purchases by one people furnish no small part of the prosperity of another people. And they are interdependent for food. No country supplies all the varieties and quantities of food demanded by its people. Each nation secures from others, and also contributes to others.

2) Notwithstanding their vital interdependence, each is absolutely independent politically. Each is a law unto itself. Each naturally seeks to extend its control of the vital necessities of its people. Each desires to be, just so far as possible, independent economically and industrially. Political independence is felt, indeed, to be menaced by economic dependence. This it is that has caused the rivalry during recent decades of the peoples of Europe for colonial possessions in Africa and for preferential trade rights and preferential access to raw materials and markets in China.

3) The growth of population in all civilized nations is another factor of immense significance. Victories of medical science have marvelously reduced the death rate and extended the span of life. The birth rate has not fallen correspondingly. When these vital changes affect all peoples, the problems of food production will grow increasingly serious. The amount of land on which food can be raised is strictly limited. The present food supply of the world can undoubtedly be much increased. But the time is not far ahead when the world's population will overtake its food supply. What effect will that have on the problem of war?

4) Secret diplomacy and secret treaties constitute another factor in the situation. Secrecy has been the habit of governments from ancient times. By these means, balances of power between groups of states have been created. Each state seeks its own economic or other advantage with the aid of the other states of the group, but it has no control of the policies and procedures of those states. The peoples moreover have been quite ignorant of the real facts and the mutual agreements and have been committed to programs that in the end inevitably involved war.

5) The existence of nations and of governments, however, is natural and indeed inevitable. States have come into being to meet certain fundamental needs of great groups of people living a common life. Not without sound reason have governments throughout the centuries claimed divine origin and divine authority. They exist to maintain order, justice and peace between the individuals, communities and classes of their own people. Intertribal developed into international relations. Each government naturally undertook to provide national security and liberty for its own people; to prevent oppression and ex-

ploitation by other nations; to maintain right and justice for its citizens in dealing with citizens of other lands; and to defend the honor and fair name of its people. These activities and objectives of government are natural, necessary and wholly legitimate. Yet these very activities have important bearings on the problem of war.

6) Ignorance of each other by enormous aggregations of men is still another important factor in the problem. Speaking different languages; controlled by different moral, religious and cultural practices; and conscious each of its own history, achievements, needs and interests, each group is apt to regard other groups as strangers and foreigners. The rights of others receive scant consideration. Each group ignores the Golden Rule. Wrongs produce wrath. Centuries of conflict have created deep-seated enmities, suspicions and more or less latent desires for revenge. A vicious circle of wrong spirit and mutual wrongdoings alienates all the peoples and races of men.

7) In the past, the systematic education provided in all primary and secondary schools has commonly given a biased view of the history and character of other peoples and races, thereby creating national bigotry, race prejudice and an attitude of mind susceptible to the war appeal; while the persistent glorification of war and war heroes in literature and text-books has perpetuated the idea that war is the field of supreme opportunity for ambitious youth. Even in the sphere of religion, there has often been a narrow nationalism, intensified by a type of teaching in which God has been presented as a tribal or national deity—rather than as the God and Father of all mankind.

8) The capitalistic organization of modern society as a cause of war needs special study. Many maintain that it is the principal cause today and that the war system will continue until private capital is destroyed. Great aggregations of private wealth seek investment in foreign lands. Capitalists have intimate relations with, if not virtual control of, governments. The resources of governments—diplomacy, army and navy—are utilized by big business to get opportunity and security for their foreign investments. Capital, moreover, in enormous munition plants, unconsciously produces and sometimes, it is asserted, even deliberately cultivates suspicion and fear between nations. For, in proportion as nations fear each other, they arm, and in proportion as nations arm, munition interests prosper.

9) The spirit of greed and selfishness, moreover, and the schemes of adventurous and unscrupulous traders in foreign lands to get all that is possible for as little as possible, are common characteristics of many who go from one group to another. The natural predatory tendencies of men and the spirit of exploitation by the shrewd and powerful of those that are ignorant, backward, and weak find abundant opportunity in the contacts of mutually alien races and strange peoples. These selfish transactions, wrongs and injustices lead to bitterness, resentment, animosity.

10) The very nature of our modern industrial system and its faulty method of distributing profits is also regarded by many as making war inevitable. This system, through its increasing utilization of scientific knowledge and natural power, can produce, with ever diminishing numbers of human workers, more than the local market can consume. This forces the dread alternatives of increasing unemployment or expanding foreign markets. To maintain employment, markets must therefore be secured by diplomacy and protected by naval and military forces. Economic militaristic imperialism, it is contended, is an inevitable by-product of our modern scientific-industrial-financial system. Vast world wars between nationalistic economic rivals appear to be inevitable so long as the present system is maintained.

11) Partisan politics in many lands seem also to play a particularly pernicious part in producing the war spirit and ultimately war. The party out of power charges the party in power with a "weak foreign policy." The spirit of narrow nationalism and jingoistic patriotism is cultivated and appealed to as a means by which to overthrow the dominant party and take its place. In the contests of political parties, the objective facts and the international consequences of their discussion are of little concern to the debaters. Each distorts the situation in order to put the other party in false positions and drive it out of power. Perhaps no more sinister and difficult element in the whole situation exists than the fierce and unscrupulous conflicts of party politics within each of the major nations.

12) Among other important factors in the situation we can barely refer to only five. Modern conditions of general education and communications have made possible as never before (1) a selfish, self-conscious, self-assertive nationalism and (2) a vast horde of imperfectly educated and irresponsible writers, who appeal to the worst nationalistic elements in each nation. Hence comes (3) the poisoned jingo press, which is at the same time too largely dominated (4) by great and self-seeking economic interests. In each land, moreover, are (5) thousands of retired officers of armies and navies, whose training makes them practically incapable of thinking on international relations save in terms of suspicion, ill-will and force. Their fervid patriotism leads them to oppose as disloyal and dangerous all plans for universal peace based on mutual confidence, goodwill, justice, law and order, in which ideals they too often have little or no faith. Their inevitable influence promotes public opinion in support of militarism and the force-philosophy of the State.

PART IV

A Supendous Undertaking

In the light of these various factors of the modern world, it is manifest that the achievement of a warless world is a task so intricate and so stupendous that few as yet appreciate how difficult and stupendous it is.

The various factors of modern civilization tending to produce war need the most careful study by church leaders and then by the rank and file of church members. Programs should be laid out for both knowing and dealing with the dangers. There is call for skilfull strategy in the crusade for peace. In each nation there might well be a "General Staff" of the Churches for Peace, composed of men of conspicuous ability, insight and knowledge. They should be trained specialists, giving their entire time to the single task of education and guiding the people of right mind and good will into those cooperative movements by which to overcome the "causes of war."

The emotional demand for the abolition of war is well-nigh universal. But an understanding of the real problems involved, and the willingness to pay the necessary price for achievement are still generally absent from the people.

No nation, indeed, wants war. But every nation wants its rights. It wants liberty and security. It wants respectful and honorable treatment. It wants the opportunity to enlarge its resources and its markets and to increase its prosperity. These objectives and these convictions tend to bring growing and vigorous nations into rivalry and conflict.

Fundamental, therefore, to the achievement of a warless world is the task of reconciling the nations. They must learn to see the real world of their neighbors, to understand and sympathize with their problems and needs. They must learn, also, to see their own national defects and wrong-doings in their international relations. They must develop mutual confidence. They must devise methods for solving in a fair and even-handed way the inevitable clashes of national desire and policy, before insoluble situations arise whose only result is war.

To see where real right and real justice lie is not always easy. Indeed it is highly difficult. In most disputes each party has some truth and some right on its side. If, therefore, war is to be banished from the modern world, the competing and clashing wants and needs and rights of vast self-conscious groups of men must somehow be reconciled.

To insure the ending of war we must deal with the collisions of interest which produce war; we must recognize in advance the causes of trouble and remove them while they are yet in germ. War cannot be stopped when it is about to break, when angry passions have gripped the nations. The time to act is years before, by changes in policy, by friendly conferences and mutually helpful agreements. When danger of war actually looms up it is usually too late.

A warless world, moreover, cannot be achieved by a small number of enthusiastic idealists and clever statesmen in a few of the nations. The reason why the "peace movement" has not thus far accomplished more than it has, is because the number of those who have taken serious interest in it has been so small. War will be banished from the world when millions of individuals participate in the movement. Men and women of every type and class, from laborers to statesmen, must share

in sane programs, develop the right spirit, understand the problems and cooperate in creating correct international public opinion.

The thought of a warless world must somehow be transformed form a beautiful idea into a driving passion. Mere intellectual considerations will never end war. A crusading spirit must take possession of scores of thousands of devoted and determined men and women in each land, who will inspire and lead the millions.

An Engineering Task

Yet mere emotional demand for the abolition of war, mere denunciation of war as folly, as futile, or even as sin; mere description of the glory and prosperity of a world in lasting peace, will not achieve the end. The task is a vast problem in human engineering. Condemnation never stopped the raging floods of the Mississippi from overflowing into adjacent lowlands. That was a task for engineers. So, too, is the task of ending wars an engineering task. Only it is vastly larger and more difficult. It requires the construction of much international machinery, for the distribution of impartial and adequate information, for developing the right spirit, for the creation of real international law, for maintaining the security of each by the united power of all, and for the actual peaceful settlement of international disputes.

An Educational Task

The abolition of war is a great educational undertaking. Millions of men in many lands must be taught to know history as it has actually been. The peoples must get the sober facts—deflating national pride and exaggerated egoism, creating respect for neighbors, and showing that all humanity is indissolubly bound together in a common destiny of weal or woe. Millions of men must be taught the A, B, C of international cooperation for the common good. And they must discover that the welfare, security, justice, liberty and honor of each is inseparable in the long run from that of all.

Systematic education for peace should begin in the primary schools. All history text-books need careful revision. Essential to our world-peace program are scientific and impartial accounts of national conflicts and international relations. The great cultural achievements and great leaders of each people should be described, for children—and adults also—love heroes. Even war heroes should be honored, but in ways that recognize the merits of heroes of other lands also, even of enemies. Thus may the spirit of fair play and appreciation be cultivated. The processes by which justice and peace, liberty and honor have been progressively secured within ever widening areas should be explained and stressed. The vital necessity for impartial law, courts and police should be made clear. For world peace can come only when great nations are ready to live as members of the world

community under a common law, abandoning their hitherto unquestioned right to be their own plaintiff, jury, judge and executioner in matters of international concern.

A Cooperative Task

Since wars spring from rivalry between nations, peace can come only by cooperation for peace in all matters that threaten to disrupt harmonious relations.

To be specific, methods for international cooperation should be devised in matters of trade, in the fair distribution of food and raw materials for industries and especially in the maintenance of security and justice for each by the united thought, purpose and power of all. This inevitably leads to some kind of a League or Association of Nations.

Might not the governments establish departments with suitable staffs and susbtantial budgets for the sole purpose of finding and promoting methods of international cooperation? Should not governments promote popular education on international good will? If it is legitimate for governments to maintain expensive establishments for security by means of armies and navies, why should it not be suitable for them to maintain parallel departments for security by means of activities creating good will and understanding between the nations? Efficiently carried out with budgets, small in proportion to budgets for military and naval preparedness, permanent peace for all the world could in time be assured. "Peace preparedness" would ultimately render "war-preparedness" unnecessary.*

A Moral and a Religious Task

Finally the establishment of permanent world peace is fundamentally also a moral and religious undertaking. Conceptions of duty and of religion must be enlarged. Whole nations must learn that moral principles effective in times of peace are universal and absolute and apply to states as well as to individuals. To steal, to lie, to deceive, to let loose the passions of lust and wrath and revenge, are never right. God is God for all and Father of all. He has no pet race. He has no private interest in one people more than in another. It is folly to petition him to be on "our side." If we are Christians, if we believe in the God whom Jesus trusted and obeyed, we must believe that God hates all injustice, all oppression, all selfishness, all greed, all deceit. God loves all men, all nations and all races.

This moral and religious education of the nations is the unique and

* The suggestion of this paragraph has been repeatedly advanced by American writers and speakers in various forms during recent years. The essay by Dr. David Starr Jordan contributed to the American Peace Award and published in the volume, "Ways to Peace," giving twenty of these essays, lays special stress on this proposal. In more concrete form it suggests that just as every government has a department devoted exclusively to the maintenance of security through preparations for war; and a department of foreign affairs for the negotiation of treaties and the constant scrutiny of all international relations from the standpoint of national policy; so there should be a department or bureau exclusively devoted to the promotion of international goodwill, justice and peace; the department might be made coordinate with the other departments of governments, or it might be made a section of the Department of State, the secretary in this case being under-secretary.

distinctive task for the churches in the Crusade for universal peace. If they fail, civilization fails and destruction will come down upon the whole world. Where the spirit of essential good will and of mutual confidence exists, every dispute can be settled. It is for the churches therefore to teach the peoples this right spirit. Without it no effective international machinery can either be established or made to function in times of stress and storm.

PART V

The Distinctive Function of the Churches

The churches cannot of course take the place of the states. Pastors cannot substitute for statesmen in the dealings of nations and governments. While statesmen must draft the treaties, conduct the conferences and determine the legal relations and procedures of the nations, the distinctive field for preachers and pastors is to cultivate among the people the spirit of fair play, the desire for right and truth, and the will to brotherhood. For, as has been repeatedly stated, at the very foundation of any effective peace movement are the inescapable principles of the Golden Rule and the Good Samaritan. These must be widely held as ruling convictions before they can be applied to international affairs.

These principles and this spirit, however, cannot be cultivated in the abstract, in a vacuum—as mere ideals. Pastors and preachers must know the concrete situations, the difficult questions of daily contacts. It is their high office to proclaim the law of God, the categorical imperative for nations as well as for individuals.

It is theirs to bridge the chasms of feeling created by international politics or trade. It is theirs to banish misunderstanding and to create right understanding. It is theirs to conquer the hatreds and banish the suspicions that lead to war; to still the passions of national selfishness and greed. It is theirs to lead their peoples into clear understanding of the causes of war and into fixed desire and determined will to walk as nations in the ways of righteousness and justice. It is theirs to teach the nations that practice of the Golden Rule in international life can alone bring in the Golden Age; that nations as well as individuals can and should overcome evil with good; that the strong should bear the burdens of the weak and so fulfil the law of Christ.

In a word, it is theirs to show how the world war-system of the nations violates God's purposes for the human family; that wrong and evil of every kind result from war and that fundamental and righteous solutions of difficulties between nations and races are seldom secured by war.

Christian leaders may well picture the pitiful sufferings of those who fight and die; the horrible shambles into which the boys are hurled; the still more pitiful plight of millions of innocent women and children and the essential futility of it all.

The churches can lead their members to unalterable opposition to every act of their own governments inconsistent with Christian ideals and Christian principles. They can become centers of accurate international knowledge, centers of courageous opposition to the war spirit and the war mind.

While the churches, therefore, should not seek to take the place of the State, nor pastors attempt to dictate to statesmen the details of policies or the terms of treaties, they can rightly demand of the State the observance of moral principles. The churches in every nation can properly request their statesmen to devise procedures, enact laws and adopt treaties that look to international cooperation for the common good in place of self-seeking, nationalistic ambitions, and that substitute law for war in the settlement of international disputes. The churches may properly lead in the advocacy of specific constructive propositions for international cooperation.

In democratic countries the churches can inspire their individual members to express in their votes their convictions regarding war and peace, electing men to positions of trust who will fight the moral battles for peace and guide their respective governments into Christian relations with other nations.

The Christian program for world peace must be sane and sober, practical and concrete. Crying for the moon, however insistent and enthusiastic, will always be futile and may be disastrous. The goals which the churches set before the people should be intrinsically achievable.

Finally the churches must learn to work together in this great crusade. Sporadic actions by one group and then another for this objective and then for that,—however good in themselves—will accomplish little. "Like a mighty army" is the clue and the watchword. Each church must be so much in earnest that it will devote money and men to the task. The church never accomplishes anything worth while in any line until it supports men and provides budgets for the cause.

The churches must develop trained men. They need experts. These will be their leaders. And these experts, representing the churches in each land, must get together and work together, steadily, patiently, determinedly, until they have fashioned and drilled a mighy host of Christian men and women who have the will to establish the Kingdom of God in the relations of nations.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

1. The ideal of the Kingdom of God is universal. It includes every relation of human life. Individuals, communities, society, classes, nations, races,—all come within its scope. And the great spiritual agency for realizing this ideal is the Church of the living God. To it has been eutrusted the divine revelation of God's redemptive purposes for the human race, incarnated in His Son Jesus Christ, and renewed in vitalizing power, generation after generation, through the Holy Spirit.

This ideal of the Kingdom of God includes banishment of wrong and wickedness, sorrow, suffering, wretchedness and poverty and the achievement of righteousness and justice, mercy, joy and peace for all mankind.

2. The achievement of a Christian world-order rests primarily on the churches. This is a heavy responsibility. Failure spells the doom of Christian civilization, the destruction of the white nations in fratricidal strife. The churches of Christendom can end war if they will. To reach this goal they must be practical and concrete; and they must be inspired by holy and invincible enthusiasm. The war to end war must be a crusade—a crusade to banish pagan ideals, the pagan spirit and pagan policies. It must be guided by sanity, knowledge and practical common sense.

3. Christians by the million should be brought face to face with the personal question of the Christian attitude towards the war-system of the nations and the war-method of solving international and interracial disputes. Are they Christian? What is the method taught by Jesus for dealing with difficulties? In what spirit would Jesus seek to solve disputes? Each Christian must decide his own duty as a conscientious follower of Jesus.

4. Christian leaders in every land should set themselves with utmost zeal to cultivate among their own people the spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation with recent enemies and ancient foes. The hatreds and animosities due to past wrongs should be wiped out. Each people should learn to see its own wrong-doings. In this world of strife, none are innocent. All are guilty. All need both to forgive and to be forgiven. The reconciliation of the races is an essential factor in of Christian program for a warless world.

5. Christian nations must cultivate the right spirit and true friendliness toward the potentially mighty races of Asia and Africa. The achievement of a warless world depends on brotherly treatment accorded those races by the white nations of Europe.

6. The churches in each land should establish a committee or cabinet or General Staff for Peace. It should officially represent the entire Church body and be composed of the ablest leaders prepared to give adequate time to this vital ask. For none more vital or more imperative faces the churches and the world. This General Staff for Peace should scrutinize and judge the policies and actions of their respective governments from the standpoint of Christian ideals and principles. The government of each land should clearly understand that the churches are no longer bound to the chariot wheels of the State; that Christians have a loyalty to Christ that is superior to every human loyalty; and that as Christians and as churches they reserve to themselves the right to independent, moral judgment upon the international actions and policies of governments.

7. No more important and patriotic service can the churches render their respective nations and governments than by maintaining independence of judgment regarding international policies and undertakings. The governments should be cordially supported in every right endeavor and especially in resistance to the efforts of those who would utilize the military and diplomatic powers of governments for selfish, capitalistic or narrow nationalistic ambitions. Never again should the churches endorse and support a war concerning the causes, obligations and purposes of which they do not have complete information. Never again should they innocently and ignorantly yield themselves and their sacred authority to further the aims of governments dominated by secret, selfish policies and by pagan principles and objectives. The deceptions practiced by the governments during the late war in publishing "censored" information and in omitting from their official Blue Books and Yellow Books essential facts, thus securing a moral support from the people otherwise impossible, should be a lesson never to be forgotten.

8. Only when the churches persuade the nations to come to the House of God ready to listen to His Law and to walk in His paths, will come the dawn of a new day for the children of men. And it may be nearer than we think—if only a few determined, clear minded, inspired and gifted leaders shall arise in each church and each nation, called of God and endowed for this task. If the churches want them and call for them God will send them. The demand of the peoples of every land is for peace, universal and permanent. But the masses are dumb and blind. They do not see the way. They cannot speak their mind. They are groping for the goal. But they cannot reach it without intelligent, wise and conscientious leadership.

The central and final problem is the problem of Christian leaders.

APPENDICES

INTERNATIONAL IDEALS OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Adopted by

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, December, 1921
The majority of the Constituent Bodies of the Federal Council during 1922, 1923 and 1924
The Fifth Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council, December 1924

I. We believe that nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws.

II. We believe that nations achieve true welfare, greatness and honor only through just dealing and unselfish service.

III. We believe that nations that regard themselves as Christian have special international obligations.

IV. We believe that the spirit of Christian brotherliness can remove every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed and race.

V. We believe that Christian patriotism demands the practice of good-will between nations.

VI. We believe that international policies should secure equal justice for all races.

VII. We believe that all nations should associate themselves permanently for world peace and good-will.

VIII. We believe in international law, and in the universal use of international courts of justice and boards of arbitration.

IX. We believe in a sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations.

X. We believe in a warless world, and dedicate ourselves to its achievement.

A MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA FROM THE FEDERAL COUNCIL'S COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOODWILL

(March, 1924)

The war-system of the nations is the outstanding evil of present-day civilization. It is the most ominous anti-Christian phase of modern life. The nations are constructing more and more effective devices for wholesale destruction. Should another world war overtake us, helpless men, women and children by the million, in cities great and small, would be suffocated, poisened, burned to death.

* * * * *

The followers of Christ throughout our land should now concentrate on the stupendous and imperative task of outlawing war and banishing it from the world. The Churches, as Churches, should grapple with this monstrous foe. Let them denounce the colossal wrongs and evils of war, and point out the violation of every moral principle and ideal by the methods of war. Let them call the peoples to repentance for their long acquiescence in the war-system of the nations. Let them cultivate the right mind and the right will, which alone can make permanent peace a reality.

* * * * *

This is a task for the Churches of all the nations; for world peace can come only by the common action of all the nations. But the Churches of America have a unique opportunity and responsibility—to influence our nation to take the lead in outlawing war and to inspire our government to take its appropriate part in the councils of the nations for the establishment of a new international order.

* * * * *

Should not the Churches, affirming that their loyalty to Christ transcends all lower loyalties and determined to apply the principles and the spirit of Christ to every national and international problem, stand on their own feet, do their own thinking, adopt their own policies, and assert their independent right to deal with the greatest moral evil of this generation? Let them refuse unequivocally to support pagan international policies or acquiesce in colossal and provocative preparations for super-pagan wars. Let them declare that, for nations no less than for individuals, the wages of sin is death and that evil is to be overcome with good.

* * * * *

The time has surely come for the Churches, as Churches, local as well as national, to organize and mobilize for constructive programs in the crusade to establish world peace Pastors should steadily hold these matters before their congregations. Women's organizations, young people's societies, Sunday Schools and groups of every kind should give themselves with utmost zeal to this crusade. All our Churches should become centers of accurate information on the bearing of Christian principles on international problems, centers of constructive programs for international righteousness and organized goodwill, centers of courageous anatagonism to the war-spirit and the war-system, placing loyalty to Christ and His Will above local prejudice, class jealousy, race hatred, partisan politics and narrow nationalism

This call is an appeal for practical action. Not they who say, "Lord, Lord" shall be saved, but they who DO the Will of the Heavenly Father.

* * * * *

Christian citizens have the right and the duty to inquire of those who represent them concerning their ideas and purposes regarding the outlawry of war, the substitution of law for war, and the embodiment in appropriate legislation of the ethical principles of the Kingdom of God in the relations of nations.

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The war-system of the nations will be overthrown and a peace system established only when millions of men and women take vital interest in these questions, place them above party politics, and express their convictions in their votes.

THE 1925 PROGRAM
OF THE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Adopted at Atlanta, Ga.
December 8, 1924

The Responsibility of the Churches

The Church of Jesus Christ throughout the world has the responsibility for moulding the minds and wills of nations, no less than of individuals, to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with God.

Christians of all lands and all churches should seek with utmost determination to reconcile the nations, to eradicate their misunderstandings, prejudices, hatreds, fears and suspicions, and to create among them the spirit of unity and the noble purpose to work for the common good.

Ideals and Realization

Realization of the ideals and principles of the Prince of Peace would mean the abolition of war and of all preparation for war. This would involve the acceptance of the spirit and the establishment of the agencies of justice, fair dealing and goodwill between nations. It would require the friendly cooperation of all nations in the creation and maintenance of international law, in the determination to settle every threatening international dispute by judicial process or by proceedings of arbitration or conciliation, and in provisions for security, honor and economic opportunity for all alike, both great and small. For permanent world peace can come only from justice, justice from impartial law and impartial law only from orderly society, organized on the principles of universal goodwill revealed to us in Jesus Christ

For the achievement of these sublime ends, under the guidance and blessing of God Almighty, we commend to the Churches of America the following concrete suggestions:

The World Court

Let the Churches of America continue their campaign for adherence by the United States to the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice, under the terms stated by the late President Harding and urged by President Coolidge.

This World Court of Justice is not only the fruition and consummation of many decades of American discussions, plans and desires for international peace through justice based on law, but also the promise of a larger and truer righteousness and justice among the nations, a step forward in the establishment of the Kingdom of God among men. This Court will, we believe, promote the development of a well-considered body of international law and the substitution of reason, justice and goodwill in place of the crude and savage methods of war or threats of war in settling international disputes and in maintaining legitimate and vital national interests.

International Law

Let the Christians of America steadily insist that the United States should actively cooperate with the nations of the world in codifying existing international law and in drafting and enacting new law to cover situations not covered by existing law. The United States should be among the first of the great nations on a reciprocal basis to accept the principles and the pledge to submit to suitable international tribunals for settlement every threatening dispute, whatsoever its nature may be.

The Outlawing of War

Let the Christians and Churches of America support with vigor the movement for the outlawing of war. America should heartily cooperate in the complete repudiation of aggressive war as a legitimate method for settling international disputes, remembering that where there is no aggression there will be no need for defense.

Aggressive war should be branded as an international crime and an aggressor nation regarded as having committed a crime among the nations. Adequate and impartial agencies should speedily be established for determining the aggressor in specific cases and for bringing to bear upon such a nation the combined moral condemnation of the world.

Universal Disarmament

Let American Christians support with united hearts and voices the call of all peoples for the drastic reduction of armaments of every kind.

Armaments not only cost colossal sums wrung from impoverished peoples, block industry, hinder production, consume capital, doom millions to helpless poverty, and cripple all movements for the common good; but they also foster international suspicion, fears and hatreds, in ever widening circles of vicious influence. They help create the militaristic mind among their own people and also among suspecting neighbors.

The time has come for nations to prepare and carry out together vast and continuing programs for reduction of armament, in conjunction with pledges for the pacific settlement of every threatening international dispute and with adequate guarantees of security and of maintenance of honor for the nations that give themselves to the program for peace.

For disarmament must be mutual; it is impossible without security and security depends upon adequate and enduring institutions and agencies for peace.

American Christians should exert every influence to secure the issuance or the acceptance by the United States Government of an invitation to attend a World Disarmament Conference. We believe that our own Government should show its readiness for such a step by taking the leadership in the program for disarmament.

Cooperation With Other Nations

Let us as Christian citizens earnestly advocate the full cooperation of the United States with other nations in efficient international organization for the pacific settlement of every international dispute, for the outlawing of war and for a program of thorough-going disarmament for all, in which organization all nations may take their full share in establishing world justice, in bearing world burdens and in maintaining world peace.

In accordance with expressions, offical and otherwise, already made by the Constituent Bodies of the Federal Council, we advocate full, open and friendly relations between the United States and the League of Nations, without commitments which would involve us in the local politics of European or of other nations.

We believe that with proper reservations and a clear statement of America's principles and international policies the United States might and should take her place at the side of all the nations cooperating in the League and could render important service in solving difficult international problems and in promoting world justice and understanding, world goodwill and peace.

Reestablishing Right-Relations With Japan

Let American Christians study with utmost care the situation of strain recently created between America and Japan by the action of Congress in abruptly annulling the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan and in refusing even to

consider Japan's courteous offer to adjust the matter on any terms within the bounds of reason and honor. Congress committed an act in flagrant disregard of the customary amenities and procedures of international relations.

Let us seek a fundamental solution of our relations with Japan which, while completely protecting the Pacific Coast States from all dangers of Asiatic immigration, shall be thoroughly courteous and free from humiliating race discrimination. The issue is not "closed." Some friendly adjustment must be found.

The Forward Move of the Churches

The Federal Council records its deep satisfaction in receiving the stirring declarations and utterances of many of its constituent bodies, calling for the establishment of a Christian world order and for the complete abolition of war as a recognized and legitimate method of settling disputes between nations.

It rejoices that for the achievement of these high ends fifteen denominations have established Commissions, Committees or Departments on International Goodwill to carry forward constructive educational programs within their own membership and to cooperate with one another in the common effort to render more effective the Christian ideal of a warless world.

Rejoicing in what has been done, the Federal Council expresses its conviction that, for the full achievement of our ideal, every national, state and city religious body should have an appropriate and effective agency to deal with this question, and in close cooperation with the Federal Council's Commission actually to carry out the essential educational programs. Denominations, pastors, congregations and church members should be urged to realize the weight of the responsibility resting upon them for the abolition of war and its complete banishment from the earth

The Federal Council earnestly suggests to all colleges, theological schools and seminaries the importance of providing for their students effective courses on international questions and especially on the fundamental moral principles which must be generally accepted by nations before war and preparations for war will cease. It urges the introduction of lessons on these issues in Sunday Schools and in study groups and classes within or affiliated with the Churches.

The Need for Prayer

In seeking these high objectives of world justice, brotherhood and peace, the Federal Council calls upon all Christian people in every church and every home to pray as a people for forgiveness for our long apathy to the continuance of the war-system; forgiveness for our blindness to the utterly un-Christian character of war; forgiveness for our national selfishness, for our lack of love to enemies, for our self-satisfaction and self-righteousness, for our race-pride and arrogance.

Let us pray for fresh enlightenment of our minds, that we may see clearly where the pathway lies, for a new spirit of devotion to Jesus Christ, our Lord, for a new desire and a fixed will to do His will in our international relations. Let us educate our youth and our children to have faith in the possibility of achieving a Christian international life and of finding constructive methods for its realization.

The Summons to Self-Dedication

To these sublime purposes we summon the Christians and Churches of America, Let us seek to know and do the mind and the will of Christ, assured that these principles and ideals of His are rooted in the eternal and unchangeable character of God, the fountain of all justice and law, the infinite source of reason and love. Let us dedicate ourselves afresh to the accomplishment of these high ends, seeking therein the guidance and blessing of the Prince of Peace.

Excerpts from

DECLARATIONS and RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY NATIONAL CHURCH BODIES

Methodist Episcopal (May, 1924)

Millions of our fellow men have died heroically in "a war to end war." What they undertook must be finished by methods of peace. War is not inevitable. It is the supreme enemy of mankind. Its futility is beyond question. Its continuance is the suicide of civilization. We are determined to outlaw the whole war system.

The patriotism of the Methodist Episcopal Church has never been challenged. Neither our motives nor our loyalty must be impugned when we insist on the fulfillment of pledges made to the dead and assert our Christian ideals for the living. Governments which ignore the Christian conscience of men in time of peace can not justly claim the lives of men in time of war. Secret diplomacy and political partisanship must not draw men into the dilemma of deciding between support of country and loyalty to Christ.

The world is now open to a crusade for peace. War-weary nations everywhere are eagerly waiting. America should lead the way. The Nation and the Church can do now what they may never, never be able to do again.

We set ourselves to create the will to peace. We recommend that a prayer for peace be prepared and used at every communion service. Through its educational program, our Church must do its full share to mould the present youth of all races into a peace-loving generation. We shall launch an aggressive campaign to teach the nature, causes and consequences of war. The glorification of war must end.

We set ourselves to create the conditions for peace. Selfish nationalism, economic imperialism and militarism must cease. We demand the establishment of the principle that conscription of wealth and labor must be the counterpart of any future conscription of human life. As great odium must be put upon the war profiteer as is put upon the slacker. The protection of special privileges secured by investors in foreign lands has too often imperiled the peace of nations. This source of danger must be prevented. The rights of the smallest nation must be held as sacred as those of the strongest.

We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance and we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us.

We set ourselves to create organization for peace. Grateful to our Government for leadership in the movement toward reduction of armaments and the promotion of tribunals for international arbitration, we insist upon a still more decided and aggressive policy in these directions. We urge the President of the United States to summon another Conference of the Nations for the more drastic reduction of armaments. We likewise urge upon the Senate the immediate entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The participation of the United States in a League of Nations will receive our active aid.

We call upon all our people to support for public office men pledged to secure these ends. The ballot and other direct processes of democracy must now be employed in securing a warless world.

World Christianity is enlisting in the campaign for peace. We seek alliance with all the forces which make for the principles here advocated. We, therefore, propose that our Church now assume its full share of responsibility by appointing at this General Conference a commission of twenty-five members, composed of five bishops, ten ministers, and ten laymen authorized and instructed to invite the religious forces of the world to unite in a conference to consider the best plans and methods for making the impact of a world-wide religious sentiment against the evils we deplore.

The principles of brotherhood are plainly challenged. The progress of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ is clearly at stake. The issues are so momentous, the opportunity for leadership is so great, that we here and now call upon all people to avoid divisive and fruitless discussions and unite their energies in this great movement for a war-free world. To this sublime end we dedicate ourselves, and for its accomplishment we invoke the blessing of Almighty God.

Baptist (North) (June, 1924)

Whereas, the Christian conscience of the world is coming to recognize that war is neither inevitable nor necessary, that it is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ; that it is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts humanity today; that under modern conditions war has now become not only futile but suicidal; and that the recognition of this fact is necessary to the continuance of civilization; therefore be it

Resolved, that the Northern Baptist Convention again declares its conviction that war is a wrong method for settling international disputes, and that, because it is wrong, the church must not only condemn war, and the things that make for war, but also take an active part in discovering and promoting the things which make for peace; and be it further

Resolved, that the Northern Baptist Convention desires to join with other religious bodies in calling a world conference to consider what can be done to promote more friendly relations among nations and to create a world conscience against war and so to bring the power of a United Christendom to bear against the continuance of the war system; and be it further

Resolved, that we request our pastors and people to set themselves afresh to the task of creating a love of justice and a will for peace, and thus achieve the utter repudiation of war by the Christian conscience and its outlawry by the governments of the world.

Protestant Episcopal (September, 1922)

There is one way and one way only to outlaw war. We must first establish a peace system. Mere disarmament by itself will not stop war. Only the firm establishment of the institutions and agencies of justice and of liberty under law, maintained by effective sanctions at the hands of law-abiding and peace loving nations, can possibly banish war from this war-cursed world. The most urgent need of mankind is the speedy establishment of international institutions to assure equal justice, full security and fair economic opportunity for all nations alike. These are essential pre-requisites to permanent peace.

* * * * *

We solemnly commit ourselves as members of a Christian Church to use every consistent means to the end that war may be abolished and that the Golden Rule may become the universal law of nations and peoples.

(November, 1923)

The Church cannot permit war to remain the only method for the ultimate settlement of disputes between nations. We are therefore of the conviction that it is the immediate and imperative duty of the United States Government either to join the existing League of Nations, or to proceed immediately to organize some other effective Association or Council of Nations for the pupose of settling amicably international disputes, and thus save us from the great danger of another World War.

Congregational (October, 1923)

Believing that war as a method of settling international disputes or achieving national aspirations is both unnecessary and anti-Christian, the Council reaffirms its faith that Christ's way of thought and life is sufficient to overcome the causes of war, and lead the nations into a life of co-operative peace. The Council also believes that there is a special obligation upon the Church of Christ to organize and prepare for peace, to engage at once with all its power in a campaign of education against war as a method and in favor of other methods of settling disputes, to diminish among peoples the disposition to resort to force, to bring the people to the conviction that war is wrong, and to develop the will for peace.

* * * * *

The Council recommends to the churches that there be systematically and concretely presented, from the pulpit, in the church schools, and in special study classes, ideals and methods of international goodwill and co-operation.

. . . It is the sense of the National Council of Congregational Churches that our Nation should rise above all political partisanship in its international relations; and that the world situation demands that America proceed at once to enter the World Court. . . .

We believe that the United States should either enter into the existing League of Nations, or find some more effective way to take our part in bearing the burdens of the world, solving its desperate problems and promoting peace among men.

Presbyterian (U. S. A.) (June, 1924)

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. pledges all its energies to the outlawing of war and to the hastening of the day when nations shall learn war no more. We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings upon the battlefield is morally any more necessary to man's highest development than is killing individuals. We see in war's cruelties, made more terrible by modern invention, not only a menace to civilization but also a definte challenge to the followers of the Prince of Peace.

We invite the co-operation of all Christendom in a determined effort to devise such complete machinery for peace as shall insure the settlement of all international controversies by reason instead of force.

To this end we favor participation by our nation with other nations in the Court of International Justice, and the submission for judicial settlement, or the arbitration, of disputes, and the investigation, before a resort to arms, of all differences which cannot be adjudicated or arbitrated, reserving the right to control our own destiny and to determine whether or not and when we shall declare war.

Reformed Presbyterian Church (June, 1924)

Whereas war is essentially and inherently a supreme violation of the teachings and spirit of Jesus; and whereas it is ineffective as a means for building the Kingdom of God and is in its very nature self-defeating; and, whereas it has been amply demonstrated that preparedness for war is no guarantee for national security; and, whereas war as a method for securing national ends, however just and right, is anti-Christian; be it resolved:

I. That the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Synod assembled requests the government of the United States to take immediate steps toward the outlawing of war as a legal and justifiable method of settling international disputes.

II. That this Synod insist on the substitution of law and the processess of law for violence in the settlement of such disputes, and to that end, that the Senate and Cabinet be urged to take the steps necessary to make this country a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the League of Nations.

United Presbyterian (June, 1924)

While we positively disown sympathy with any effort of anti-war propagandists which tends to encourage or promote disloyalty or dim the lustre of national spirit and patriotism, we nevertheless, as a Church, declare our opposition to war and refuse to bless, condone, or support it in any way except it be in justifiable self-defense or as a clear necessity for the deliverance of an oppressed people or nation.

We believe that universal and permanent peace is possible only by the Prince of Peace that the regeneration of the hearts of men through the gospel of Jesus Christ is the final solution of the problem of war.

Methodist Protestant Church (May, 1924)

"We hold it to be a national sin to resort to war until every possible peaceful agency has been employed; and that no nation is ever justified in a war of aggression.

* * * * *

We favor participation by our nation with other nations in the Court of International Justice, and the submission for judicial settlement of all disputes; and the investigation before resort to arms of all differences which cannot be adjudi-

cated or arbitrated, reserving unto ourselves the right to determine whether or not, and when we shall declare war. We pledge all our energies to the outlawing of war, and to the hastening of the day when the slaughter of human beings upon the battlefield is forever ended.

Friends' General Conference (July, 1924)

We believe the whole system of determining right by violence and destruction rather than by friendly conference and negotiations is fundamentally wrong, inefficient and irreligious. We oppose as a religious body all participation in war, and believe that no more patriotic service in any nation can be rendered than to save that nation and others from war. We urge all people to support such international organizations as will insure peaceful methods of dealing with differences between nations.

Unitarian (South) (April 29, 1924)

Resolved that we renew our allegiance to the things which make for peace, and by teaching and example, in our worship and our daily conduct, dedicate ourselves to the principles of our religion, so that barriers may be broken down among the nations, mutual understanding be increased, the unity of our common humanity deepened, and the governments of the world inspired to advance our civilization by the spiritual forces of truth, integrity and service.

Unitarian (North) (May, 1924)

Now, therefore, we urge all of our churches and their members to use their influence toward the development of more civilized and friendly international relations whereby all world problems may be solved by peaceful means and to the end that warfare may be abolished from the earth.

Universalist General Convention (October, 1923)

Whereas, war is a denial of the basic principles of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and is the cause of terrific destruction of both material and spiritual values and has reached such a stage of development that it threatens the existence of civilization.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, that this Convention place itself unequivocally on the side of every effort towards causing war to be recognized as a crime in international law and a violation of the Christian religion.

Central Conference of American Rabbis (June, 1924)

We urge upon our fellow-citizens and upon those who guide the destinies of our land that, being true to themselves, they adopt an uncompromising opposition to war. We believe that war is morally indefensible. War that crushes the young, that brutalizes and degrades, that destroys all that is most precious, must not be honored and glorified. It must be recognized for what it is and this must be taught to our children. . . .

We do not champion extreme attitudes. We do not adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance. We believe that there have been righteous wars. Freedom and justice are worth more than life. A nation must defend its moral integrity, its existence.

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